/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were for- [115] bidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Although in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

The acculturative situation of the different communities that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/82 cont./

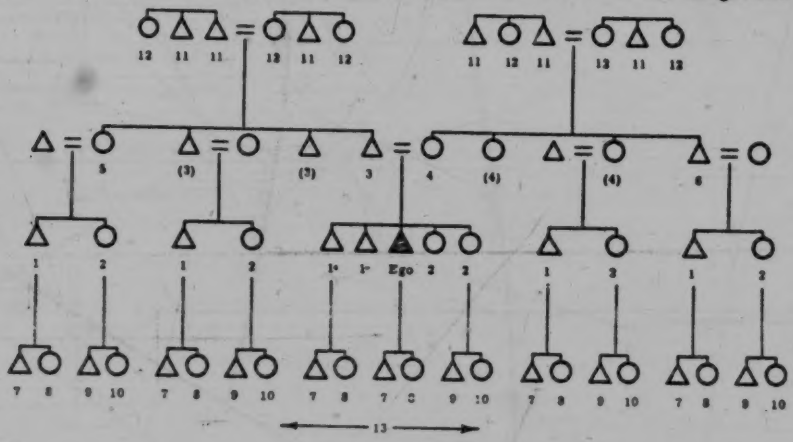
593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son; it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations




*Key*

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)
+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22-23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *ɨeriʔý*, was almost

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



identical to male Ego's "son," *ʒera²ʃ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *ʒerajʃ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *ʒera²ʃ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *ʒeatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *ʒeatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *ʒepé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69]

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization.

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70]

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapúi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*túbisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans.

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con-

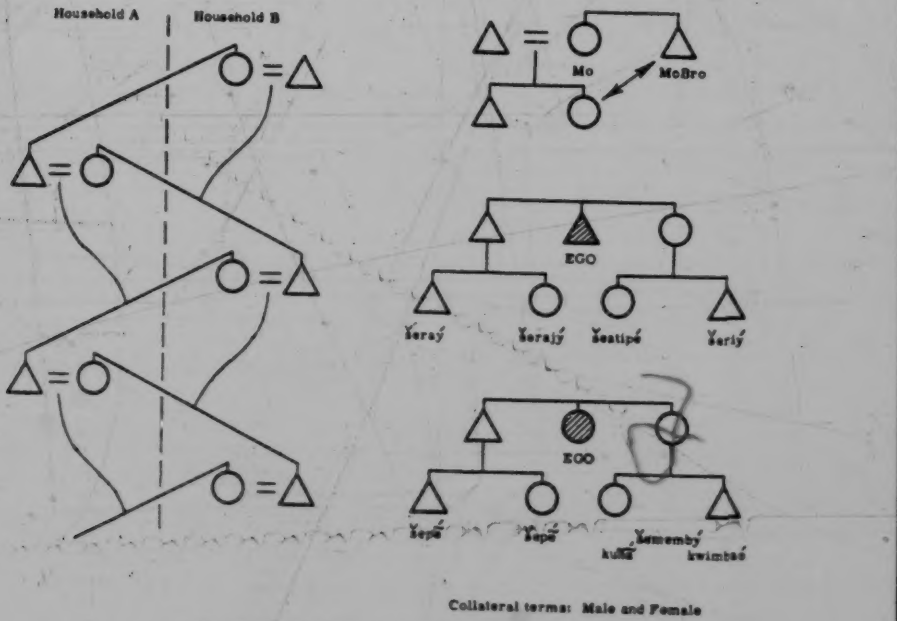



FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4



*177 182 582 601 [596] [591] separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

*177 182 582 59 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

## Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

[121] [174]

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

## The Life Cycle

842 Births: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as [602] sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

## Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
• 601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
602 a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

.601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 178 60 433 182 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the

/46/

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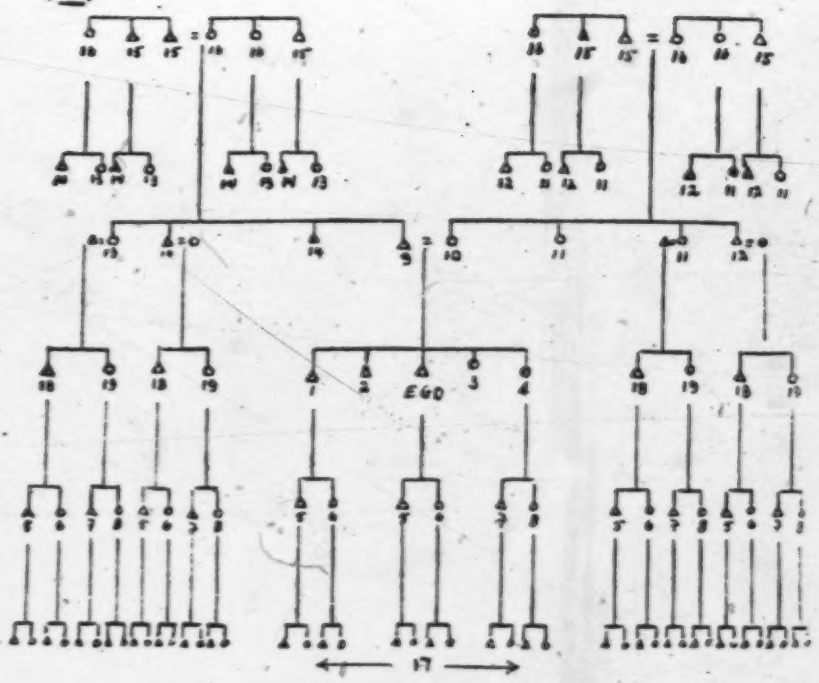


Chart I

The Cayuá Terms Mentioned in Chart IV$_A$

In this chart Ego is male. When Ego is female, son and daughter are nephew and niece, while nephew and niece become son and daughter. The circle signifies woman, the triangle, man. Two parallel lines indicate matrimonial ties.

Meaning of the numbers

1. older brother
2. younger brother
3. older sister
4. younger sister
5. son
6. daughter
7. nephew
8. niece
9. mother
10. father
11. mother's sister
12. mother's brother
13. father's sister
14. father's brother
15. grandfather
16. grandmother
17. grandsons and granddaughters
18. brother
19. sister

A [see pp. 22 and 23 -- analyst]

•601 /47/

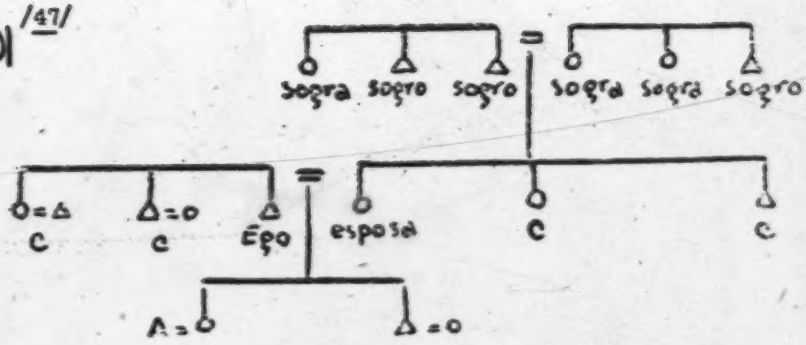


Chart II

Designations for the affinal relatives, Ego being a man. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV.

c = cunhado(s) /brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex); f.a. = child by affinity (without distinction as to sex). /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; esposa = wife./

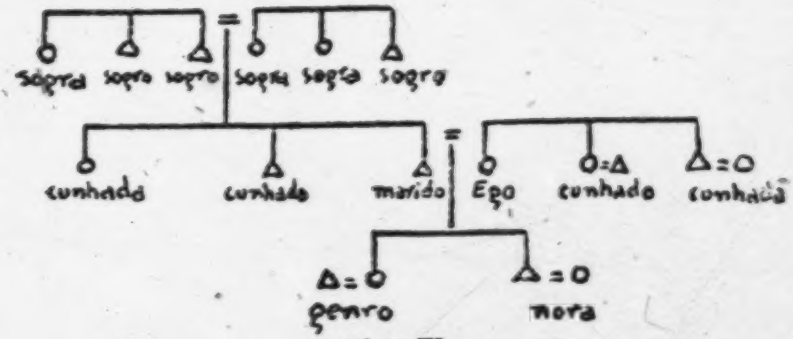


Chart III

Designations for affinal relatives, Ego being a woman. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV. /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; cunhada = sister-in-law; cunhado = brother-in-law; marido = husband; genro = son-in-law; nora = daughter-in-law./

/48/ Chart IV

601

| | |
|---|---|
| Che-rywý ..... | younger brother, a man speaking |
| Che-rykeý ..... | older brother, a man speaking |
| Che-rendý ..... | older sister, a man speaking |
| Che-rendý-minĩ ..... | younger sister, a man speaking |
| Che-ru ..... | father |
| Che-sy ..... | mother |
| Che-ruwý ..... | father's brother |
| Che-syý ..... | mother's sister |
| Che-djaiché ..... | father's sister |
| Che-tutý ..... | mother's brother |
| Che-ramõi ..... | grandfather |
| Che-djarĩ ..... | grandmother |
| Che-raý ..... | son, a man speaking |
| Che-radjý ..... | daughter, a man speaking |
| Che-riý ..... | nephew, a man speaking |
| Che-atipé ..... | niece, a man speaking |
| Che-ramianinó ..... | grandson and granddaughter |
| Che-rembireko ..... | wife |
| Che-rowadjá ..... | wife's brother and sister; sister's husband and brother's wife, a man speaking; anyone of those whom the wife calls sister or brother; husband's brother and sister's husband, a woman speaking; sometimes also "intimate friend." |
| Haĩ ..... | wife's mother; sister of the wife's mother; sister of the wife's father |
| Ahẽ ..... | wife's father; brother of the wife's father; brother of the wife's mother |

/48 cont./

601 Che-kywý ..... older brother, a woman speaking
Che-kywykeý ..... younger brother, a woman speaking
Che-ruké ..... older sister, a woman speaking
Che-kypyý ..... younger sister, a woman speaking
Che-pẽ ..... nephew and niece, a woman speaking
Che-membý kwimbaé .. son, a woman speaking
Che-membý kuñá .... daughter, a woman speaking
Che-mẽ ..... husband
Che-rukeí ..... husband's sister; brother's wife, a woman speaking
Che-peú ..... daughter's husband, a woman speaking
Che-wãchá ..... son's wife; daughter's husband, a man speaking
Che-mendúa ..... husband's father; brother of the husband's father; brother of the husband's mother
Che-mensý ..... husband's mother; sister of the husband's father

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104 Final note: The phonetic value of all the letters corresponds to the Portuguese, with the exception of h, which is aspirated as in the English word have, of w, which is pronounced as in the English word water, and of y, a peculiar sound of the Tupi languages, in which it appears, for example, in the word y, water. The prefix che is the possessive of the first person singular.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S14



But these examples are sufficient to show the multiplied variety of the second person. Amongst the Guaranies too, the possessives are affixed to the nouns, but this occasions no difficulty, because the mutation is regular: thus, *Tuba*, a father. *Cheruba*, my father. *Nderuba*, thine. *Tuba*, his. *Guba*, theirs. *Taÿ*, a son. *Cheraÿ*, mine. *Nderaÿ*, thine. *Taÿ*, his. *Guaÿ*, theirs. *Che* is prefixed to nouns for the first person, and *Nde* for the second, without variation. Likewise in the plural they say *Ñande*, or *Oreruba*, our father. *Penduba*, your father. *Tuba*, or *Guba*, their father. In all other substantives these particles supply the place of possessives.

The following observation must be made on the possessive nouns of the Abipones. If they see any thing whose owner they do not know, and wish to be made acquainted with, they enquire to whom it belongs in various ways. If the object in question be animate, (even though it only possess vegetable life,) as wheat, a horse, a dog, a captive, &c. they say *Cahami lelà?* whose property is this? to which the other will reply, *Ylà*, mine. *Grelà*, thine. *Lelà*, his. On the other hand, if the thing be inanimate, as a spear, a garment, food, &c. they say *Kahamì kalàm*, to whom does this